/700 cont./

847 who died after the third miscarriage, and likewise of Felipe's wife, who complained to me that she had had two premature births. Malicious women unjustifiably reproach these two, saying that they had consciously transgressed. Hence it is certain that willful abortion, which is undertaken secretly by a woman, is extremely rare. Abortive medicines from the animal and vegetable kingdom are unknown.

855 Love for their own child guides the parents in everything they regard as good and advantageous for it. Many customs and individual child-rearing methods have developed from long experience; they are a safe rule of conduct for the parents in the care and treatment of their darlings. To deviate from them is prohibited by the respect they steadfastly cherish for the ancient tribal heritage handed down by their ancestors.

2. Birth

842 Our Yamana regard giving birth as a natural function, but in their conversation they treat this matter with genteel reserve. The connection between sexual intercourse and conception is sufficiently clear to them. They could not refrain from laughing when we mentioned to them that there were some groups of human beings to whom these facts were apparently not known. If one asks them specifically about the origin of the child, they refer solely to the union of the two /701/ spouses and say that with their sexual union the child begins to form in the mother's belly, that it continues to grow until it has attained the customary size, and that then it becomes an independent being. They limit this explanation to the development of the body. When I asked Calderon about the soul of the child, he 842 did not give me a clear answer, for in general these Fuegians are 774 rather vague about the conception of the human soul. He said: "When the child is born, it has its kexpix, for, after all, it is alive. But who knows where this comes from!" With Nelly I talked about this repeatedly in Fred Lawrence's presence; I came to the conclusion that the Yamana lack clear ideas about the origin of the soul in the developing child.

843 The Yamana women do not understand the direct connection between the cessation of menstruation and the beginning of pregnancy.

/722 cont./

856 properly, to become well-proportioned, and to develop a beautiful figure.

856 That this treatment of the infant is not without a tinge of
789 magic may be seen from the way it is concluded. As soon as a woman ceases the prolonged stroking, she clenches her hands and puts her fists to her mouth so that the bent thumbs touch her lips. With a sharp thrust she extends her arms out in front of her and opens her fists, palms forward and fingers outstretched. At the same time she expels her breath in a sharp "pf." as though the "unbeautiful, ugly, /722/ deformed" had been gathered together with the hands and were now being blown away. One sees this motion being practiced a great deal by the yéhamuš.

857 In this wiša process every woman is, of course, extremely gentle and sensitive; she is careful not to press on the fontanel, ayyatuša, which she knows to be a very sensitive spot. For about three weeks the new infant must submit to this forming, stroking, and arranging of his little body. It causes him not the slightest discomfort.

855 The following belongs in the category of superstition. When
854 the sea duck, déška (Tachyeres patachonicus), flies over the hut,
•774 all the occupants are startled, for they are afraid that it will take away the "spirit," that is, the vitality of the children. The adults hasten to cover all the children with pieces of leather and, with outstretched arms, they grope through the air, as though they were trying to hold back "the spirit" of the children. As though they had gathered it up in the air, they draw their arms in again and make a proffering and throwing motion toward the children, at the same time uttering a long-drawn-out "š." It is well known that immediately after birth the parents may not eat the meat of déška, otherwise the life of the child is endangered (p. 503).

857 Most of the day the babies move freely or lie in the mother's
lap. With their little hands they touch and grasp everything they can reach. They are given individual small stones and sticks, mussel shells, and little twigs that happen to lie nearby, but the Yamana do
[524] not make actual toys. Perhaps it is too much trouble for them always to take along and carefully store toys, no matter how simple. It seems to me that Yamana babies, compared to those on Isla Grande, are much quieter and much less inclined to play. True, the mother puts all kinds of small necklaces around her darling, in order to adorn

1: Gamble--1932 E-6 (1918-1924) 1937 5008 Yahgan 1088

/1093 cont./

088 Supplementary data on their religious activity will be given in the description of their great funeral rite, which follows in the next section.

B. Belief in the Soul and Mourning

• 774 811 Conceptions of the human soul and of its continued life after death are closely interwoven, and the customs of mourning, for which our Yamana have created definite forms, are connected with them. The latter are probably based principally on the fact that the loss of each tribal member affects all the natives very painfully. In the following description one must keep in mind that European ideas and expressions do not absolutely coincide in every detail with the thoughts and words of the natives because the latter are much more unpretentious and poorer in ideas. Much of their thinking shows gaps and is not carried to its conclusion. In general it is not the habit of the Foegian to complete what is lacking or to provide a suitable substitute. In view of this the investigator runs the risk of consciously or unconsciously substituting his own interpretation for the deficient forms of expression of the children of nature, which would give a distorted picture. My informants were sometimes at a loss to give satisfactory explanations in response to my questions and inquiries. This is the typical primitive mentality which does not concern itself with precise descriptions of every image and complete interpretions of every idea according to the rules of logic. It must be frankly admitted that there are gaps in the following account. I would be guilty of distorting the material offered if I were to fill them out according to my own taste and provide them with meanings from my personal opinion. Unadulterated single facts, even though they are deficient and fragmentary, can be used in making comparisons and will safely lead to the desired goal, whereas unreliable and arbitrary additions imperil the course of research.

1. Gramado---1938 8-9 (1910-1914) 1937 1938 Yolgam Gua

/1093 cont./

a. The Human Soul

•114 From the start the Yaulgan differentiates between animate and inanimate objects. For him, human beings and animals, his Wetsuiñkwa, and the many different spirits are actually living creatures, whereas /1094/ he does not attribute life in the actual sense to plants and stones, the forces of nature, and his own implements. His idea of life and of being alive coincides with the possession of a soul. The soul is the true principle of life and, as such, it may exist by itself or be united with the human body. Hence, according to the clear conception of the Yamana, it is a being in itself, and thus something entirely different from a body. This interpretation more or less corresponds to what we Europeans mean by the words "soul" or "spirit."

115 The independence and individuality of a spirit-being is definitely emphasized by a distinct designation which, although a generic term, is used only for the human soul and actual independent spirits. It is "ahkpai," a word that has been repeated often enough by missionaries and travelers. The forms ahkpai and ahkpin are also heard. RD:178 gives ahkpin, "a spirit, a ghost, an apparition, a man who has lost a brother or cousin" /cited in English/; the latter meaning was not mentioned to me. They use this expression exclusively with the basic meaning of "spirit-being." It was sometimes given unjustifiable limitations or inadmissible explanations. Bridges (1):11, for example, limits the meaning of the word ahkpai, as is sometimes permissible, as follows: "The Cushpin were spirits which at night could make themselves visible but not tangible. They were malign, and the yolgam associated them with sickness and death" /cited in English/. Nevertheless this description shows that pure spirit-beings have an independent form of existence. Hyades (4):255 has repeated this interpretation in an expanded form; he calls Kachpikh an "untranslatable term referring to fantastic beings" /translated from French/. Spencer:101 is more definite and uses the term only with reference to the human soul: "Cush-pik is the spirit part of man" /cited in English/.

Besides incorporeality, which seems to be an essential characteristic, at least externally, still other traits are attributed

TIS /1936 cont./

of a future good or bad existence or of the presence of a spirit in man, which survives the body." In the first part he is right; in the second he contradicts himself.

repeated. "They believe in the immortality of the soul" /cited in English/. This is actually the case, and it is not worthwhile to consider contrary opinions.

TIY Furthermore, the Yamana believe that the spirit-beings have unlimited freedom of movement, so to speak. During sleep, above all in dreams, the kéipif leaves the body temporarily and goes elsewhere. Spencer:101 also mentions: "When dreaming, the spirit goes out of him" /cited in English/. In this connection it is worth noting that the kéipif, after such a leave-taking, must be anchored to the body anew, as it were, by means of a ceremonial act, usually by a yékamat. This will be explained later. Several times my attention was called to an important distinction: "While someone is dreaming, his kéipif merely goes for a walk, and of course soon returns., but if a person dies, Watauineiwa takes the kéipif away and will not permit it to reunite with the body." When the Yamana say, "One cannot see a spirit-being, simply because it is kéipif," they mean: it is not corporeal, for only something corporeal is visible to the eye. Nevertheless they admit that such a spirit-being can occasionally make itself visible, but they do not explain this in detail. Once I asked: "If my brother has been dead for a long time and then I, too, die, will my kéipif meet that of my brother, will it see him and be able to communicate with him?" In reply I was told: "We do not know that. We are completely /1936/ ignorant about how the kéipif behaves over there." If the Yamana wish to explain their own vague idea about the existence of a kéipif, all they can say is: "It is something like the breath (or the air that comes out of one's mouth."

TIY It seems to me that their view of the derivation and origin
T61 of the human soul is not entirely clear. In a vague way they admit that the Supreme Being plays a decisive role, namely, that the soul of the newborn child comes from him, whereas the body of the child owes its origin to its parents (34). Common

34. Spencer:102 says: "New born child gets

/1936 cont./

spirit "from nature" /cited in English/. The Yamana does not express himself that way. Spencer adds, correctly: "Some imagine they see the spirits. Informant knows nothing of spirits' life except that they always remain" /cited in English/.

expressions also reveal this conception. For example, grieving parents say: "Watayinkiwa let my child die, the one he gave me," but they do not express themselves in more detail about the whole process.

Once I wanted to know whether animals also had their kikpif. Apparently this thought had never occurred to them, for they shook their heads in denial. Then I said to them: "Animals are certainly clever, especially the dog. He understands the calls and gestures of his master, he helps in hunting and is faithful. How can that be?" They replied: "We care for the dog as for a child. He helps us a great deal. We never leave him behind all by himself in a deserted place, for if he were cut off from us we would always and everywhere be aware of the barking and howling of such an abandoned dog. Perhaps the dog does have a kikpif of his own, but he is the only one, other animals do not have it." Thus, the Yamana do not in so many words attribute a kikpif like that of the human soul to animals.

Their views are essentially like those of the neighboring Selk'nam about their kákpi (Vol. I, 537); even the names that the two tribes give to the human soul and to the spirit-being are almost the same.

b. Belief in a Future Life

Despite the contrary assertion of a few travelers who need not be taken seriously (35), the Yamana are, without exception,

35. Darwin (d):247 writes: "Captain Fitz Roy could never find out whether the Fuegians have any definite belief in a future life. They bury their dead sometimes in caves and

K756 /1427 cont./
787 them buried a few yêkamuf at the whale. They hit their mark and
is drilled to them. When the people learned of this act of their
yêkamuf, they marveled at their ability." Again this is an inci-
dent that occurred in the mental vision of the yêkamuf and after-
ward was told to the people.

However, two yêkamuf will also have an actual contest
in which one will try to outdo the other. An example of this has
already been given on p. 1316. Usually the procedure is for
each one to aim his yêkuf at a particular goal. The one whose
yêkuf reaches this goal or even flies beyond it is the winner. In
another type of contest one yêkamuf will catch in flight the yêkuf
hurled by his opponent and send it back. The one who cannot
muster up the strength to do so loses. The other yêkamuf can ob-
serve such proceedings in their mental vision, and they inform
ordinary people of them. The superiority of one yêkamuf over
his opponent is also shown when he forces him to cease his harm-
ful acts. Examples of this have been mentioned on pages 1365
and 1366. They also show how easily a yêkamuf can disturb the
peace and conjure up ill-feeling (p. 1301).

K756 Every yêkamuf, without any undue effort, can make the
779 kêlpiś of an ordinary human being subservient to him, and the
younger the person is, the easier this can be done. The yêkamuf
keeps the "spirit" in his power as long as he chooses, unless a
stronger yêkamuf frees him. If this does not happen and the
kêlpiś is not released, the "soulless" body will gradually waste
away and the person will die. For example, if a medicine man
commences the Ilima song in his hut and is disturbed by a child,
he will seize the child's kêlpiś. During the brief period of the
song this has no perceptible effect on the child, but the people
present are anxiously concerned that the yêkamuf soon restore
the kêlpiś to the child. Therefore after the singing is over, he
will make violent retching motions, recover the kêlpiś, and hand
it back to the child by drawing his open hands up and down sev-
eral times along the child's body. If the kêlpiś were not returned
in this fashion, the child would die after a time. Every yêkamuf
is closely watched by those around him, which is necessary and
advisable since this determines the favorable or unfavorable opin-
ions that his fellow-tribesmen have of him.